

8133.412
7
THOUGHTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND EXCELLENCE

OF

REGAL GOVERNMENT.

Οὐ μὲν πῶς πάντες βασιλευσόμεν ἐν θάδ' Ἀχαιοί
Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολὺ κοιροῖν, εἰς κοιρανὸς ἔγω,
Εἰς βασιλεὺς, ὡ ἐδάκεν, χρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω
Σκηπτέρον, τ' ἢδε θεμιστὰς, ἵνα σφίσι ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

HOM. lib. 2.

Let not all Græcians here presume to guide
The helm; worst tyranny! let one preside
As King; to whom, by sov'reign will of Heav'n,
A sceptre, and to reign with law, are giv'n.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON
HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1793.

[Price One Shilling.]

THOUGHTS

OF THE

UNION OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY



AND
THE
UNION
OF
THE
ROYAL
SOCIETY

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

1793

THOUGHTS

ON

REGAL GOVERNMENT.

THE two principles adopted by the modern sect of democratics, that all men are by nature equal; and that in the formation of civil society there should in every state be adopted a certain system which would establish the several members of it upon the same level for preservation of their just rights, and of this natural equality; however acceptable they may be to the multitude, to the schemes of the crafty and ambitious, or to the wishes and convenience of the needy and dissipated part of mankind, they will be found, upon inquiry, inadequate for practice, and rejected by the una-

nimous experience of the most polished ages and nations.

With respect to the former, that all men are by nature equal, certain it is, that all men are born into the world alike helpless, and in want of protection; and this being universally obvious, nor standing in need of any argument, so far they may be denominated equal; but in all other circumstances they will be found unequal and different as the formation of their bodies and their faces; and with capacity, genius, and inclination, dissimilar and various: some being by nature endowed with talents and abilities of the mind for the superior employments of society, and for command; others being born with dispositions for bodily labour and for obedience. And from this diversity and dissimilitude, stamped upon them by the all-wise Author of Nature, results the general harmony of the whole. And hence it is, that both these principles are false; and the first and leading principle of all government is subordination; and likewise a presumptive argument, what peculiar form of govern-

government nature herself in a certain degree may seem to delineate and chalk out.

And from the most comprehensive view of society, regal government will be found best adapted for preservation of the general harmony, as might easily be rendered probable, not only from other associations and departments of an inferior sort contained in it—both civil, religious, military, and commercial—all which do constitute a mode of direction analogous to it ; but it is likewise made still more apparent by a similar association observable even among animals and insects of the brute creation, governed solely by instinct, whose conduct in this particular shews it to be natural.

But this delineation of instinct and of reason in so many instances, being contradictory to the turbulence and restlessness of the levelling principle that is gone forth, and which seems to have conceived a natural antipathy to subordination ;—to the very name of king ;—to the robe, the scepter, and the diadem ;—to every ensign of royalty and title of honour ;—asserting them to be
oppressive

oppressive to the *rights of man*; — and regal government neither the most ancient, nor the free choice and approbation of the people, but the effect of violence and of conquest; it cannot be any great waste of time to expose in a few pages the absurdity of a doctrine so erroneous, especially on a subject not uninteresting nor difficult of elucidation, by an appeal to a few conspicuous transactions from among a multitude; and from the practice of mankind in the primitive ages of the world, which have set an example deserving imitation to all their posterity.

If, therefore, the common advantage and convenience be the motive for forming society in the brute creation—in the management of affairs, civil, religious, military, and commercial; and if the form of government most generally established among men in the earliest ages be any just standard of measurement, or argument of fitness and expedience for preservation of order, of the common interest, safety, and welfare of mankind, which must be their chief object for uniting in society, regal government will be found

found to have the best title to that character; and the question may be decided by an appeal to these primitive ages, and a few deductions from them, without any long detail of the practice and experience of after times in different regions, which are chiefly founded on their model.

In proof of this let us search remotest antiquity in the heathen world, — taking a view of mankind as emerging from a state of nature, and their sylvan habitations—bringing with them, from among the wild beasts of the forest, their ancient lodgings and furniture—the oaks and rocky caverns fashioned into rude materials for the construction of villages, towns, and cities;—forming societies; cultivating arts and manufactures of various kinds; and exchanging the ferocious manners and licentiousness of savage life for security and obedience to wholesome laws. Fabulous history has furnished this very example. Every body has heard of the name of Orpheus, who for his skill in music is so celebrated, that he is believed to have made trees and rocks follow him, and dance to the melody of his

his harp. This romantic description, divested of fabulous imagery, means no more than that this illustrious prince, living as a chief among a nation of savages, wandering in woods, wild, without laws or regularity, having, by the advantage of a finer understanding and deeper reflection than the rest, discovered that mankind were capable of enjoyments superior to the brutes, and for more refined pleasures, prevailed on them by the powers of reason and eloquence to make the experiment: to abandon their sylvan habitations, converting the trees and shapeless rocks by labour and industry into houses and a city.

A revolution so much for the honour, advantage, and ornament of human nature, the poets of succeeding times have celebrated in strains of sublimest panegyric; and to perpetuate the remembrance of its process, and all the several concomitant circumstances of it, have in a beautiful allusion to them represented the illustrious leader, who was by unanimous consent elected King, as taming wild beasts, and drawing trees and rocks after him to the music

music of his harp. An example this of a King chosen by the mere dictates of nature, without violence or conquest, for his virtues and ability to govern and keep in order an infant society, and to make them happy.

Within the compass of a few years afterwards, a great number of little cities were built all over Greece and its environs—in the western regions of Asia—Ægypt and the coast of Africa; all of them independencies with a regal government; so that, at the ever memorable siege of Troy, a confederacy of Kings in the two armies conducted forth their respective citizens to war. The Median, Syrian, and other governments succeeded, and were all of the same denomination; not to mention other subordinate independencies of lesser note governed by Kings.

From Asia and the East, if our attention be turned Westward towards Italy: this country, on the landing of Æneas in it, was divided into several independent kingdoms.

B But

But a transient and cursory recital of these passing in review before the mind, would be too volatile to make a lasting impression, it may not, therefore, be improper to make a pause at the most distinguished; nor is it any objection to the present argument, that authors exhibit them, for the most part, in their full proportion, growth, and maturity, as they are incidentally connected with other subjects. For, admitting that in many instances the origin and infancy of regal government be unknown, it does not therefore follow, that it was established *vi et armis*, (as these intelligent gentlemen affirm) rather than with the consent of the multitude; for where history is silent upon the subject, there can be no reason for inclining to one opinion more than the other.

The historians of Italy, however, have fortunately left on record the birth and origin of a few, which may be perused in their writings, whose constituent parts they have made mention of with great accuracy, which will tend greatly to elucidate this matter: from among these it may be sufficient

cient to select two of distinguished fame—
Rome and England.

The first in order, is the foundation of their own metropolis by a banditti of three thousand armed robbers, convicts, refugees, out-laws, that had resorted to their asylum. These being at length surfeited with a life of rapine and plunder, their accustomed mode of subsistence, agreed among themselves to abandon it; to exchange their licentious manners for more salutary laws, for certain rules of order and civil government; and by unanimous consent, having built houses and the city of Rome, inclosed it with walls, and a rampart for a settled abode, and became incorporated; establishing a regular government of three orders of men and distinct privileges, electing Romulus of first distinction by birth and valour to preside over all, saluting him with the title of King; an hundred others, superior in certain respects to the rest, were chosen by them as a council of assistants, with the title of patricians or nobles; the remaining multitude subsided as plebeians with their own settled and established privileges.

Such was the model of Government which common reason suggested for dispersion of anarchy among a lawless and disorderly rabble, fatiated with tumult and confusion, as best fitted for the common safety and establishing order and discipline among them.

And upon this model and establishment did they advance, in the space of forty years, to opulence, power, and dominion, under the reign of Romulus, "*qui multitudini gravior fuit quam patribus.*" But this popular monarch, at a general review of his army in Campo, (the original Champ de Mars) on the sudden rise of a violent tempest, disappearing, amidst the general confusion occasioned by it, was secretly torn in pieces by a few patricians: but the multitude being inconsolable for his loss, and beginning to raise sedition, Julius Proculus, in the character of Mirabeau, appearing among them, said—

"Romans, I am sent to you with a message from Romulus, who, at early dawn, descended from heaven to me, saying,
"Go

“ Go and tell my Romans, that the will
 “ of the Gods is, that they be masters of
 “ the world ; bid them cultivate arms, and
 “ rest assured of this, and hand it to poste-
 “ rity, that no human power shall be able
 “ to withstand them : and having spoken,
 “ he ascended again to heaven.”—This
 being heard with universal applause, the
 multitude were satisfied ; and being soon
 tired with the government, who ruled al-
 ternately for some time, they proceeded to
 the appointment of Numa, as King.

Another instance of regal government,
 second in order of time, but prior in dig-
 nity, excellence, and duration, is among
 the tribes of Germany ; an unpolished peo-
 ple at the time of its origin, yet, notwith-
 standing, the ancestors of Englishmen ; and
 their government the model, in miniature,
 of the present admired and envied constitu-
 tion of Great Britain, as is evident from the
 underwritten plan of it ;

*Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute su-
 munt ; nec regibus libera aut infinita potestas.*

“ Kings they appoint for nobility, Generals
 “ for

“ for valour ; nor have Kings a power unlimited and without controul.”

Again—*De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes ; ita tamen ut ea quoque quorum penes plebem arbitrium, est apud principes pertraentur.*—“ The King
“ and Nobles consult on lesser matters, on
“ the more important ALL ; yet so, that
“ the resolutions of the Freeholders are subject to be re-considered by the King and
“ Nobles.”

The learned historian, as if he had looked forward into futurity and foreseen that this plan might hereafter be the model of some mighty empire to arise after him ; or approving it as such, has marked, with singular precision, the three several constituent parts of the English constitution—assigning to each its peculiar office and privilege ; to the King, as supreme, a limitation of his power—to the Nobles, the honour of his cabinet council in lesser matters ; his inseparable companions in peace and war ; “ *in pace decus, in bello præsidium.*” The plebeians or freeholders are summoned to
debate

debate on great affairs, but their debates and resolutions are subject to the controul and assent of the two superior branches of government. This admirable constitution so delineated—with other usages, manners, and juridical institutes, he describes with the utmost accuracy: and on this identical plan the elegant Montesquieu has raised a superstructure, which he calls the English Constitution, and which he exalts to the highest pitch of eminence, as the *first* of governments and of nations; concluding it with a complimentary allusion to the place of its nativity, “*ce beau systeme,*” says he, “*etoit*” “*trouvé dans les bois d’Allemange.*”

This edifice of Gothic architecture, which, during a series of eighteen centuries, has felt the shock of many convulsive storms and tempests, and survived them all—maintaining its several parts unshaken, and exhibiting, *usque ad hodiernum diem*, the features of its native form, divested of rusticity, is at length brought to perfection. This constitution, d’Angleterre, is advanced to the flower of age and manhood, with all the embellishments which the utmost efforts of a free people,

people, the most liberal and polished manners, have been able to bestow, without the smallest wrinkle or symptom of decay.

Man for ever, says a certain Caledonian Speculatist, drawing a parallel between the constitution of man and that of government, which are, in every respect, incongruous. Man, from his birth, carrying in his mortal fabric materials of dissolution; whereas the English government, by an exact equipoise of its several constituent parts, without any encroachment of either upon the other, being founded in the very nature of things for reciprocal and permanent welfare of civil society, having already outlived a double antediluvian age, may, by the blessing of Divine Providence, be prolonged with the duration of the world itself—*fiat perpetua : imperium sine fine dedi.*

But to proceed ;

This same Caledonian Speculatist is so delighted and dazzled with the radiance of of the French Revolution—the degradation of nobility and of the priesthood, as to deem it

it impossible for 200,000 noblemen, and the same number of priests, to be capable of representation in the national assembly—forgetting, that in his native northern district of Great Britain, sixteen peers represent the entire nobility, and forty-five commoners the multitude; and that an unit may be representative of a million.

Not that the plan of the French nobility can be vindicated, being very different from that of England. In France hereditary nobility, as an entire body, is too luxuriant to be a separate branch of the legislature: in England, being coeval with the constitution, and engrafted upon it with a limitation for one shoot only, to remain as hereditary; by *luxuriance* it cannot injure, and by situation strengthens the two other branches. This Caledonian Speculatist brings to remembrance an anecdote of Hannibal:—This illustrious General, when he was at the Court of King Antiochus, having been prevailed on to attend a certain rhetorician, who was universally admired for his lectures on the art of war; and, on his return, being asked his opinion of him, replied,

C

that

that he had heard many blockheads discourse upon the subject, but that the rhetorician (calling him by his name) was the greatest he had ever heard.

Enough has now been spoken in these three examples of Orpheus, Rome, and England, (each of them, indeed, viewed singly, being in form somewhat different, but in their general principle alike) to shew the absurdity of a doctrine, maintained by gentlemen of the levelling principle, that kingly government, with other subordinate ranks of distinctions, was the effect of violence and of conquest; not delineated by Nature in the distribution of her various capacities to men, nor the choice and approbation of the multitude. To these authorities many others of a similar nature might be added, if necessary, from Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, &c. And, above all, as there never was a time more fertile in discoveries; and in which savage life of every region of the globe was more accurately surveyed and better known, than in the present, by travellers into the inmost recesses of the barbarous regions of Africa, Asia, and America; and

and by navigators over the entire Pacific ocean; all these are at hand and ready to give attestation, that even in these rude uncivilized states of Nature, kingly government, or a form similar to it, every where prevails,

Were the affairs of society conducted on the plan supported by the gentlemen of the Old Jewry, it would not only counteract the intentions of Nature in the distribution of her talents with so great variety to mankind, but of every well-constituted state; whose principal object ought to be, to leave open to individuals a road to riches and honours, by the exertion of their several talents for the general benefit. A degradation of rank, title, equipage, honours, and every mark of distinction among men, puts an end to emulation, and, in consequence, to the refinements and improvements of art and nature—the ornaments of civil life. It is going back towards a state of nature; and the next step, perhaps, would be to demolish houses and cities, and cultivation; to run wild in the fields and woods, as before the days of Orpheus; to eat raw steaks cut

from the sides of living bulls, as in the wilds of Africa, and to drink the punch of Otaheite. From this counter-revolution, and from these delicacies, may this nation be for ever delivered.

The author cannot possibly take leave of the subject, without most hearty congratulations to the above gentlemen on the success of their wishes and endeavours in abetting, comforting, encouraging the National Assembly of France to perseverance in their revolutionary *system*. Whatever their secret and real intention may have been in these, it has certainly had one good effect, it has helped to humble the pride of that perfidious and haughty nation ; involving her in the lowest abyss of impotence ; melting her army—undisciplining her navy—annihilating her finances and course of exchange. A system, likewise, diametrically opposite to her natural genius and situation ; and, by a co-incidence of all these favourable circumstances, has been the means of exalting the glory of Great Britain ; and what is of more essential value, most probably prevented the commencement of a war between the two

2

nations,

nations, either in the East Indies, or on the voyage thither.

These worthy gentlemen, genuine cions from the Oliverian nursery, had, in their frequent meetings, not only mixed a poisonous cup for their natural *brethren* at home, of which themselves have unexpectedly drank a little ; but have exported plentiful draughts of it, in the name of a cordial, to their unnatural *friends* abroad ; which has brought on their nation such a fever, as, perhaps, nothing but strong antimonial emetics and cathartics of another revolution will be able to assuage and cure.

T H E E N D.

This Day is published, Price 3s.

**VARIOUS OPINIONS
OF THE
PHILOSOPHICAL REFORMERS
CONSIDERED;**

**PARTICULARLY
PAIN'S RIGHTS OF MAN.**

By CHARLES HAWKEY, M. A.

VICAR OF BAMPTON, OXFORDSHIRE.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published, Price 9s. bound,

THE LONDON CALENDAR

FOR 1793,

Including the COMPANION, the BENGAL CALENDAR, ALMANACK, ARMS OF THE PEERS, &c.

The London Calendar, separate, 2s. or with an Almanack, 2s. 10d.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published,

In one large Volume Octavo, consisting of 800 Pages, Price 18s. Half-bound and lettered,

THE HISTORY AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LORDS AND COMMONS,

DURING THE FIRST SESSIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published,

In One Volume Quarto, illustrated with Forty-two Copper-plates, Price 1l. 1s. or Coloured, 2l. 2s.

A COLLECTION OF PLANS

OF THE

CAPITAL CITIES IN EUROPE,

And some remarkable CITIES in ASIA, AFRICA, and AMERICA; with a Description of their most remarkable BUILDINGS, TRADE, SITUATION, EXTENT, &c. &c.

Selected from the best AUTHORITIES,

By Mr. JOHN ANDREWS.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published,

Elegantly printed in One large Volume Octavo, upon a superfine Paper, Price 10s. 6d. in Boards,

THE ORIGIN OF ARIANISM DISCLOSED.

By JOHN WHITAKER, B. D.

The Author of the History of MANCHESTER, and of the VINDICATION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published, Price 2s. 6d.

**THE THIRD EDITION OF
THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAIN,**

The Author of the RIGHTS OF MAN;
WITH A DEFENCE OF HIS WRITINGS.

By FRANCIS OLDYS, A. M.

Of the University of Pennsylvania.

London: Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published,

In Three Volumes Quarto, Price 3l. 3s. in Boards,
Illustrated with Maps, and a Portrait of the Author, engraved by
J. Beugo from a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds,

**THE HISTORY OF THE
PROGRESSS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.**

By ADAM FERGUSON. LL.D.

Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

* * Mr. STOCKDALE respectfully informs the Public, that he has purchased the few remaining Copies of the foregoing Work from Dr. Ferguson.—This Book takes up the Roman History from the earliest Period, and closes where Mr. Gibbon's Work commences; so that the two Works form a complete History of the Roman Empire.

††† Gentlemen desirous of completing their Roman History will please to apply to Mr. STOCKDALE, or to their respective Book-sellers, as there are but a few Copies left.

Piccadilly, Dec. 12, 1791.

**Dr. ARNOLD and Mr. CALLCOTT's NEW CHURCH
MUSIC**, consisting of near 200 Tunes.

This Day is published,

In One Volume Folio, containing 250 Pages,
With an elegant Frontispiece and Vignette, designed by Stodhart,
and engraved by Medland and Wilson,

Price 1l. 6s.

THE PSALMS OF DAVID, For the USE of PARISH CHURCHES.

The Words selected by

The Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. M. A.

The Music selected, adapted, and composed, by

Dr. ARNOLD,

Organist and Composer to his Majesty,

Assisted by

J. W. CALLCOTT, M. B.

Organist of St. Paul, Covent-Garden.

The above Work consists of Eighty Old Tunes, in two Parts;
Seventy-four New Tunes, composed on Purpose, in three and
four Parts, by Dr. Arnold and Mr. Callcott; and Forty-three
ditto, compiled from Handel, Jomelli, Steffani, Graun, Pleydel,
Arne, Boyce, Haffe, Pergolesi, &c. in three and four Parts,
making one of the most elegant and complete Collections of
Church Music ever published in this Kingdom.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Bookseller, Piccadilly, and
GEORGE GOULDING, Music-Seller, James-Street, Covent-
Garden; and may be had of every Music and Bookseller in
Great Britain and Ireland.

* * A SELECTION of the PSALMS, with an Introductory
Preface by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, may be had separate,
Price 1s. 6d.

This Day is published,

In Two Volumes, Royal Octavo, Price 1l. 11s. 6d. in Boards,

SHAKSPEARE's WORKS,

With AYSCOUGH's INDEX.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day is published,

In Two Volumes 8vo. embellished with 17 Plates, designed by
Stodhart, and engraved by Medland, Price One Guinea bound,
A splendid Edition of

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

To which is added, The LIFE of DANIEL DE FOE.

By GEORGE CHALMERS, Esq.

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE.